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REMARKS BY

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BEFORE THE

ASSOCIATION OF BAY AREA GOVERNMENTS

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

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WE IN AMERICA HAVE A TENDENCY TO ATTACK THE  
SYMPTOMS OF DEEP PUBLIC ISSUES, RATHER THAN THE CAUSES  
OF THOSE SYMPTOMS -- AND TO GROW DISCOURAGED WHEN THESE  
LIMITED SOLUTIONS DON'T ACHIEVE SOLID CHANGE.

IN THE LAST DECADE, WE DECLARED WAR ON POVERTY  
-- HUNGER -- UNEMPLOYMENT -- CRIME -- RACIAL DISCRIMINATION  
-- AND POLLUTION.

WE ADOPTED A MYRIAD OF LAWS AND EXPECTED THESE  
LAWS TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM.

YET IN EACH OF THESE, OUR SOLUTIONS EXPOSED AS  
MANY NEW COMPLEXITIES AS THEY SOLVED -- AND OUR LACK OF  
SUCCESS LED MANY TO BELIEVE THAT THE WAR WAS NOT WORTH  
WINNING.

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NOWHERE IS THAT MORE EVIDENT THAN IN THE PROBLEM OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION.

FOR TODAY WE FACE A TWIN CHALLENGE:

-- TO RENEW OUR COMMITMENT TO ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY IN THE FACE OF DETERMINED OPPOSITION.

-- AND TO ATTACK MORE DIRECTLY THE CAUSES OF ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION.

LET ME OUTLINE WHAT HAS BROUGHT US HERE.

WHEN WE BEGAN AFTER WORLD WAR II TO LOOK AT POLLUTION, WE SAW EVIDENCE OF SERIOUS, OVERWHELMING DAMAGE TO NATURE. LAKES WERE DEAD. THE AIR OVER OUR CITIES WAS STAGNANT. WE WERE CLEARLY RUNNING OUT OF AREAS TO POLLUTE.

SO WE PASSED SOME RUDIMENTARY LAWS TO STUDY THE PROBLEM. WE ALSO CREATED LOCAL, STATE AND FEDERAL AGENCIES ARMED WITH WOODEN SWORDS AND PAPER SHIELDS. AS A RESULT, THE PROBLEM GREW WORSE.

PUBLIC ALARM GREW TO MAJOR PROPORTIONS IN THE 1960'S. SO WE ACTED AGAIN, THIS TIME WITH SUBSTANTIVE EFFORTS. WE APPROPRIATED MONEY, PASSED TOUGH LAWS, AND CREATED NEW WATCHDOG AGENCIES.

(MORE)





WE HAD LEARNED THE NEED TO GO BEYOND CONTROLLING POLLUTION AFTER-THE-FACT, AT A SPECIFIC TIME AND LOCATION. WE PLANTED THE SEEDS FOR ATTACKING THE REAL SOURCES. WE MADE A COMMITMENT TO SUBORDINATE SHORT-TERM ECONOMIC INTERESTS TO ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY.

BUT TODAY WE FACE A DETERMINED COUNTER-ASSAULT BY THE POLLUTERS IN THE COURTS, CONGRESS AND THE MEDIA.

SO NOW, WE BEGIN ROUND THREE. THE TWO MAJOR ENVIRONMENTAL REGULATORY STATUTES -- CLEAN AIR AND CLEAN WATER -- ARE IN CONGRESS UP FOR REVIEW AND EXTENSION.

THEY ARE HIGHLY VISIBLE TARGETS. THEY ARE VULNERABLE TARGETS, IF WE DON'T EXERCISE THE WILL AND DETERMINATION TO RETAIN AND STRENGTHEN THEM.

THE FACT IS THAT THESE LAWS ARE BEGINNING TO CHALLENGE SOME VERY BASIC ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT AMERICA -- ABOUT OUR SYSTEM OF ENTERPRISE, PRIVATE PROPERTY, HOW WE COMPUTE SOCIAL COSTS. AND THE IMPROVEMENTS WE HAVE IN MIND FOR THESE LAWS COULD ESCALATE THAT CHALLENGE.

(MORE)





WE ARE LEARNING. IN OTHER WORDS, THE DEEPER IMPLICATIONS OF REAL ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION -- THE REAL SOURCES OF THE PROBLEM -- AND THE REAL NATURE OF OUR COMMITMENT.

WE ARE LEARNING TO DEFINE ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY IN TERMS OF PUBLIC HEALTH AND TO ESTABLISH FOR AMERICANS THEIR RIGHT TO A HEALTHY ENVIRONMENT -- A RIGHT JUST AS IMPORTANT AS FREE SPEECH AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE.

WE ARE LEARNING TO REJECT THE IDEA THAT WE MUST WRITE OFF THE HEALTH OF AMERICANS -- THAT WE MUST TRADE OUR HEALTH FOR A JOB.

WE ARE LEARNING THAT ONCE A MANUFACTURING PLANT OR A REAL ESTATE DEVELOPMENT ARE BUILT, IT MAY BE TOO LATE TO CONTAIN THE ENVIRONMENTAL DAMAGE THAT RESULTS.

THE CLEAN AIR ACT AND THE CLEAN WATER ACT RECOGNIZE THE PUBLIC IMPACT AND COSTS OF THESE PRIVATE PROJECTS. THEY IMPOSE RESTRAINTS ON GROWTH. THEY WILL LIMIT HERETOFORE PRIVATE DECISIONS ABOUT SITE LOCATION AND SIZE OF PROJECTS. THEY SHOULD OPEN UP THESE BUSINESS DECISIONS TO PUBLIC PARTICIPATION.

(MORE)





IN OPPOSITION TO THESE MAJOR STEPS FORWARD, WE HAVE HEARD REVIVED THE OLD BUZZ-WORD "BALANCE." WE ARE BEING TOLD AGAIN TO STRIKE A BALANCE BETWEEN ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND ECONOMIC NEEDS BY WEAKENING REQUIREMENTS FOR CLEAN AIR AND WATER.

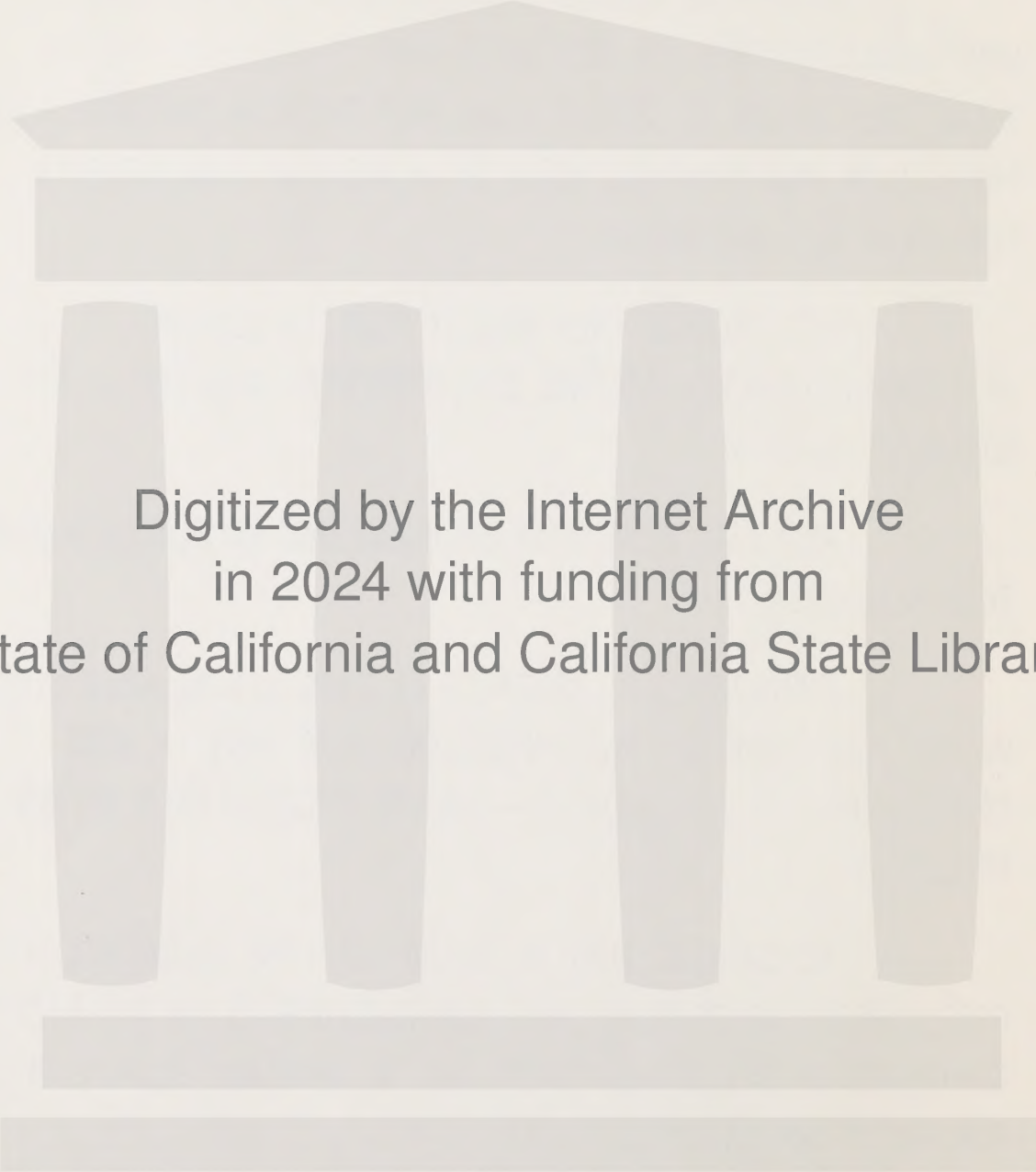
THE BALANCE THEY REALLY MEAN IS LETTING UNRESTRICTED GROWTH DICTATE ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY -- FOR BUSINESS AS USUAL.

AND THAT DEMAND BY BUSINESS HAS ESCALATED DURING THIS RECESSION.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROGRESS IS FINE DURING GOOD TIMES, WE ARE TOLD, BUT NOT WHEN AMERICANS NEED JOBS -- JOBS CREATED ONLY BY NEW GROWTH -- GROWTH CREATED ONLY BY NEW POLLUTION.

NEVER MIND THAT WE HEARD THE SAME ARGUMENTS DURING GOOD TIMES. NEVER MIND THAT THE TRADEOFF IS AN ARTIFICIAL ONE CONTRIVED BY BUSINESSES UNWILLING TO BEAR ANY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR OWN GARBAGE.

(MORE)



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THIS REGION PROVIDES A USEFUL EXAMPLE IN ITS APPARENT LOSS OF A PROPOSED LARGE PETROCHEMICAL COMPLEX. I KNOW ENOUGH OF THE DETAILS TO SEE IT AS AN EXAMPLE OF A TAKE-IT-OR-LEAVE-IT TRADE OF JOBS FOR CLEAN AIR -- A TRADEOFF DESIGNED AND PROPOSED SOLELY BY THE BUSINESS *private* INTERESTS INVOLVED.

THERE WAS NO REAL BALANCE INTENDED. IT WAS A STRAIGHT BUSINESS PROPOSITION: WE PROVIDE THE CAPITAL AND THE JOBS, AND THE PUBLIC PROVIDES THEIR AIR, THEIR WATER, THEIR HEALTH. AND IF YOU DON'T LIKE OUR TERMS, WE'LL FIND A COMMUNITY THAT DOES.

IT IS THE TRADITIONAL WAY OF DOING BUSINESS IN AMERICA. FROM AN ENVIRONMENTAL PERSPECTIVE, AMERICA HAS HAD OVER 300 YEARS OF UNRESTRAINED ECONOMIC GROWTH -- INCLUDING AT LEAST 150 YEARS OF INTENSIVE INDUSTRIAL GROWTH -- DURING WHICH COMMUNITIES HAVE EITHER HAD TO TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT.

WE HAVE HAD LESS THAN THREE YEARS OF PROGRESS TOWARD REAL ENVIRONMENTAL BALANCE. WE ARE FAR FROM ACHIEVING THAT BALANCE -- YET WE ARE NOW BEING ASKED TO ABANDON THIS MODEST PROGRESS AND RETURN TO SOME PHONY BALANCE WHERE ALL THE CARDS ARE STACKED AGAINST ENVIRONMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS.

(MORE)





THIS COMES AT A TIME WHEN IT IS PRACTICALLY  
A CLICHE TO OBSERVE THAT OUR ENVIRONMENT IS FRAGILE.

IT IS A TIME WHEN WE ARE INEXORABLY CONSUMING  
EVEN MORE OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL RESOURCES ON WHICH OUR  
STANDARD OF LIVING -- AND LIFE ITSELF -- DEPENDS.

SOME AREAS OF THIS STATE HAVE REACHED THOSE LIMITS.  
YET WE CONTINUE TO HEAR THE PERSISTENT CALL FOR NEW ECONOMIC  
GROWTH -- GROWTH THAT WE ARE NOT SUPPOSED TO HELP SHAPE --  
GROWTH DETERMINED IN THE CORPORATE BOARD ROOM -- WITH THE  
INEVITABLE RESULT OF STILL MORE DETERIORATION OF THE  
ENVIRONMENT.

WHAT DO WE DO WHEN THERE IS NO MORE CLEAN AIR TO  
BREATHE? WHEN THERE ISN'T ANY MORE CLEAN WATER TO DRINK?  
WHERE THEN WILL WE GROW? AND WHAT GOOD WILL IT HAVE DONE  
US?

FORTUNATELY, THERE ARE BETTER CHOICES -- IF WE  
DECIDE NOW THAT THE SIZE AND LOCATIONS OF GOVERNMENT AND  
PRIVATE VENTURES CAN NO LONGER BE LEFT TO THE INDEPENDENT  
DECISION OF THE MANAGERS OF THOSE VENTURES. THEY PROBABLY  
CAN'T EVEN BE LEFT ENTIRELY TO LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

(MORE)





THERE MAY BE CASES WHEN THESE DECISIONS WILL REQUIRE BOTH CONSULTATION WITH AND APPROVAL BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO ASSURE PROTECTION OF PUBLIC INTEREST.

IT IS TIME TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL MEASURE FOR GROWTH. WE CAN NO LONGER HAVE, IN THE ABSENCE OF NATIONAL POLICY, REGIONS OF THIS COUNTRY COMPETING WITH EACH OTHER FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH BY PROMISING WEAKER ENVIRONMENTAL REGULATIONS.

STATE LEGISLATURES, FOR EXAMPLE, OFTEN HOLD BACK FROM ENACTING AND ENFORCING EFFECTIVE ENVIRONMENTAL REGULATIONS FOR FEAR OF REPRISALS BY BUSINESS -- FOR FEAR THAT NEW PLANTS WOULD GO ELSEWHERE, OR THAT MARGINAL PLANTS WOULD CLOSE.

THERE IS NOTHING WRONG WITH COMPETITION. BUT LET IT BE ON THE BASIS OF QUALITY OF WORKFORCE, AVAILABILITY OF MARKETS AND OTHER FACTORS OF PRODUCTIVITY -- NOT THE WILLINGNESS TO SACRIFICE CLEAN AIR AND WATER.

(MORE)



AS WE ESTABLISH THIS GROWTH POLICY, WE MUST IMPOSE LIMITS ON SCALE WHERE ENVIRONMENTAL DANGER IS GREAT. WE MUST RETHINK THE VALUE OF LABOR-INTENSIVE PRODUCTION VERSUS ENERGY-INTENSIVE PRODUCTION.

WE MUST REDREAM THE DREAMS OF THE TECHNOCRATS WHO SAW TECHNOLOGY AS MAN'S FRIEND -- NOT HIS SOURCE OF DESTRUCTION.

WE MUST ADAPT TO THE LESSON OF AN ENVIRONMENT ABUSED. WE MUST BEGIN TO VIEW NATURAL RESOURCES AS WE DO AIR AND WATER -- PUBLIC TRUSTS -- AVAILABLE FOR PRIVATE USE BUT NOT PRIVATE DESTRUCTION.

WE NEED A NEW GROWTH ETHIC IN THIS COUNTRY. WE NEED A COMMITMENT TO A LESS MATERIAL, MORE HUMAN EXISTENCE. THE ONLY FORCE FOR THAT KIND OF A CHANGE THAT I SEE ARE THESE ENVIRONMENTAL LAWS.

THE FACT THAT WE NEEDED THESE LAWS ONLY MAGNIFIED THE DEGREE OF THE PROBLEM THEY REFLECT. THEY CANNOT BE EFFECTIVE UNLESS WE CHANGE THE CAUSES OF ENVIRONMENTAL ABUSE.

(MORE)





OR, IN THE WORDS OF THE FORMER SECRETARY OF  
INTERIOR, STEWART UDALL:

"AT THIS MOMENT IN HISTORY WE NEED  
TO REALIZE THAT: BIGGER IS NOT BETTER;  
SLOWER MAY BE FASTER; LESS MAY WELL MEAN  
MORE."

THAT MAY SEEM VISIONARY, BUT IT IS ATTAINABLE,  
EVEN CRITICAL FOR OUR SURVIVAL.

AS PUBLIC OFFICIALS, WE MUST DEMAND A ROLE IN  
BUSINESS DECISIONS THAT AFFECT ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY.

WE MUST CONVINCE THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY THAT  
THERE WILL BE NO TURNING BACK -- THAT WE ARE IRREVOCABLY  
COMMITTED TO A CLEAN ENVIRONMENT AS A BASIC AMERICAN  
RIGHT.

WE MUST REMOVE WHATEVER MAY SEEM TENTATIVE ABOUT  
ENVIRONMENTAL REGULATION -- TO REMOVE THE TEMPTATION FOR  
BUSINESSES TO DRAG THEIR FEET IN MEETING STANDARDS, IN HOPES  
OF LATER GETTING RID OF THOSE STANDARDS.

(MORE)





WE CAN -- AND MUST -- DO THIS WITHOUT BEING ARBITRARY OR ARROGANT. WE MUST ACT SIMPLY OUT OF THE PRINCIPLE THAT THE PUBLIC INTEREST MUST PREVAIL.

IT IS AN OVERWHELMING RESPONSIBILITY.

GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS IN AMERICA MUST ASSUME A NEW LEVEL OF RESPONSIBILITY TO PRESERVE THE VALUES OF THIS COUNTRY WITH THE LIKELIHOOD OF LITTLE APPRECIATION FOR EITHER THE EFFORT IT WILL TAKE OR THE VALUES THAT WILL BE ACHIEVED AS A RESULT. A FREEDOM PRESERVED, A CRISIS AVOIDED, A SICK DAY NOT EXPERIENCED, AN ENDANGERED SPECIES NOT EXTINCT, WILL RECEIVE LITTLE RECOGNITION.

AFTER ALL, WE WON'T BE ABLE TO PROVE THAT A FREEDOM WAS PROTECTED OR A SPECIES WAS SAVED FROM EXTINCTION OR THE HEALTH OF A CHILD PROTECTED AS THE RESULT OF A STRONG, AGGRESSIVE, PUBLIC INTEREST-ORIENTED INVOLVEMENT OF GOVERNMENT. BUT AS PUBLIC OFFICIALS THAT IS OUR RESPONSIBILITY.

IF WE SUCCUMB TO THE NARROW, SHORT-TERM PRESSURES WHICH COMPROMISE ALL OF OUR OBJECTIVES ON THE ALTAR OF GROWTH, IT WILL BE ANOTHER DECADE AT LEAST -- IF EVER -- BEFORE THE NEED FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION WILL BE ABLE TO OBTAIN THE SUPPORT WE HAD IN 1970-1972.

(MORE)



BY THEN, I DOUBT MUCH WILL BE LEFT. CERTAINLY  
THE HILLS OF APPALACHIA WILL BE LEVELED AND THE STREAMS  
WILL FLOW WITH ACID.

WE'LL BE FIGHTING THE NEW BATTLES OF LAKE ERIE.  
BUT THIS TIME IT WILL BE PUGET SOUND, GALVESTON BAY,  
SAN FRANCISCO. THE GULF AND THE ATLANTIC COASTAL WATERS.

AND BY THEN, IT <sup>MAY</sup> WILL BE TOO LATE.

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